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ABSTRACT

The document, consisting of three parts, focuses on recurrent education and the need for more effective deployment of educational resources within member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The first section discusses the rationale for recurrent education. Recurrent education presents an educational opportunity wherein education is presented during one's lifetime and alternates with other activities. It involves the closer integration between formal education and adult education thereby promoting equal educational opportunities, meeting manpower needs, and increasing social flexibility. The second section focuses on the present progress and problems of recurrent education and presents an empirical description and partial assessment of developments which have taken place towards recurrent education within both the formal educational system and the world of work. The third section presents an agenda for the future and immediate policy implications in the following areas: coordination and consultation, budgeting, policies for the 16-19 age group, admission policies and certification, new personnel requirements, employment policies, and research. The discussion is supplemented with tables and an annex is included on the framework for monetary developments in recurrent education. (Author/EC)

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RECURRENT EDUCATION :

TRENDS AND ISSUES

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1975

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SUMMARY

Confidence in the effect of education and in the value of educational reform has wavered over the last few years. This, combined with a heightened awareness of the complexity of the relationship between education and other social trends, has provoked a certain reluctance to accept a continually rising investment in education, yet this incipent scepticism has not as yet generally expressed itself in a willingness to rethink the orthodox structures in such a way as to eradicate their apparent weaknesses. These weaknesses may be crudely outlined as follows: lack of success in meeting the changing needs of youth, particularly as regards the adolescent population; failure to cater adequately for the potential adult clientele; disappointing impact on redressing inequality; and the absence of an adequate framework for integrating theory and practice and, in particular, its indifference to changes in the world of work.

For these and other reasons, education has not been short of critics - indeed, it seems to have been the target of many criticisms which might more justly have been levelled against the society of which it is only a part. The most sweeping critics - the deschoolers - advocate the dismembering of the whole educational system, but their attacks on its rigidity and its inability to respond to the needs of individuals are not matched by realistic and constructive proposals for replacing it. The policy for recurrent education dealt with in this report aims not at replacing the system wholesale but at radically modifying it so that access to education is not confined to the individual's early years, but is available at intervals, in alternation with work or other activities, over his or her lifetime.

It is suggested that the coherent construction of a policy of recurrent education must be made along two axes: a vertical axis along which the integration of adult education opportunities with initial schooling might be affected, breaking the current lockstep by encouraging individuals to defer the exercise of their educational rights; and a horizontal axis, along which educational and training provision is coordinated with other policies such as employment and manpower policies which affect the work and leisure of the population.

The fundamental argument is for a fairer and more effective deployment of educational resources: fairer, because the provision of opportunities on a recurring basis permits a continual redressing of inequities, and more effective in that it allows expenditure and attention

to be directed to where the society, the local community and the individual most need them.

The report outlines the broad case for recurrent education; it describes some developments within OECD Member countries which could be construed as progress towards a system of recurrent education, and points to those areas which are likely to prove crucial to its further implementation. Many issues are touched on rather than dealt with in depth, but this seems inevitable in discussing the relation of education - itself a many-faceted topic - to a wide range of other subjects. Finally, an effort is made to place the whole issue in a policy context, and conclusions for national action under the following headings are drawn in Part III:

i) increased coordination and consultation between those responsible for education, labour and social affairs, together with employers and trade unions;

ii) the development of a coherent system for financing recurrent education;

iii) the discharge by the educational authorities of their responsibility to the 16-19 age group by assuring them of an adequate range of options as between education and work;

iv) modification of admissions policies to educational and training institutions, incorporating the principle of positive discrimination and favouring work and life experience;

v) the development of an adequate infrastructure to serve the new clientele, in the shape of appropriately trained personnel and an effective outreach system;

vi) the relation of education to employment policies, with particular reference to marginal groups.

In conclusion, it is suggested that the issues raised under these headings (Part III) could be most effectively tackled by specifically appointed Commissions whose own mandate and composition would reflect a range of policy interests sufficiently broad to allow the eventual negotiation of a new educational contract based on the principle of recurrence.

I

RATIONALE

'We are apt to speak and think as if our problem were an extension of our present educational system to the masses whom it does not yet reach. More teachers, more schools, and bring the rest of the population into them. But it is not a simple as that. '*

Introduction

The fact that education is, in the vast majority of cases, concentrated in the early part of one's life is not purely fortuitous. Both social and economic reasons existed which made it more convenient and arguably rational to put children into schools, and higher or even secondary education was originally restricted to such a small number that it had no impact on the average individual's life-cycle. What is less easy to accept as rational is the way in which the expansion of educational provision very largely consisted of responding to demand by clamping more years of schooling directly onto the initial period: raising the school leaving age and thus compelling those who previously left at 14 or 15 to stay on for another year, and directing the vast upsurge of higher education in such a way that the new opportunities were largely conditional upon a readiness to pursue one's educational career as far as possible without interruption.

The multiplication of provision (see Tables 1 and 2) in the last half-century has indisputably improved overall educational attainment in OECD Member countries and made a significant, if difficult to quantify, contribution towards greater equality. The recurring debates over the relation between education and economic progress, the degree to which it affects social mobility and its role in the transmission of culture have excited prolonged controversy, but the in-built momentum towards expanding provision along existing lines has continued to suck in almost all the resources made available to education.

The concept of recurrent education, which the OECD has recently attempted to clarify,** is based on a different approach. It argues not for new educational objectives but basically an alternative of educational opportunity, where the present system is gradually transformed so that it no longer provides education in one stretch during the

* Sir Richard Livingstone: The Future in Education (CUP 1941), p. 36.

** Recurrent Education: A Strategy for Lifelong Learning, OECD/CERI 1973.

individual's youth, but over his whole lifetime and in alternation with other activities and in particular with work. Interest in this approach derives from many sources, in addition to general hesitation about the appropriateness of a further lengthening of the average period of initial education. There is concern about the failure of education to provide equal educational opportunity. Great hopes had been set on increased enrolment at different levels as a way to achieve a more equal distribution of education among the various social groups, but in spite of the strong educational expansion in most OECD countries, inequality between different social groups has persisted, even if in more subtle forms. Moreover, doubts have been voiced as to the value of postponing into adulthood the age at which students leave school and begin to play an active role in society. Other reasons often adduced for dissatisfaction with the existing educational system include the mismatch between education and the labour market, both in terms of numbers of professionally trained people and of the nature of their qualifications; the phenomenon of students staying at school or university as long as possible for primarily negative reasons; and in some countries the negative costs of drop-outs or repeaters. This analysis of the educational system's shortcomings is to some extent shared by those who call for its wholesale dismantling. The deschooling thesis offers a refreshingly utopian picture, and one which is worth keeping in focus as a corrective to short-term compromise planning, but its policy relevance is severely limited by its apparent indifference to the current unequal distribution of power and of familiarity with educational possibilities, and to the crucial distinction between reasonable organisation and institutional stultification.

The push provided by dissatisfaction with the present educational system is matched by the pull from rapid changes taking place in the world of work. Progress has been by no means unimpeded, but modifications in labour market structures and techniques of production and trends towards greater participation in decision-making, new ways of organising work at the enterprise level and educational leave of absence, call for a greater enhanced responsiveness on the part of the educational system. This is unlikely to be forthcoming as long as education is concentrated in the initial period of the individual's life-cycle and continues to fulfil the function of an early determinant of future chances. The rationale for suggesting a restructuring of educational provision thus derives both from the shortcomings of the present system and from changes in the world of work which demand a greater flexibility. Failure to acquire or exercise at the earliest moment the right to more education generally disenfranchises the individual for good. The underlying principle of recurrent education is that the right to education should not be determined in this manner, but that individuals should be able to defer it to a more appropriate stage of their life.

It is acknowledged that progress towards recurrent education will not on its own resolve the problems of the education system, which can

be traced back virtually to the moment of birth and even earlier, but any detailed discussion of the obligatory schooling period is eschewed except insofar as it would affect and be affected by post-compulsory recurrence. For example, to argue for the introduction of educational leave of absence as a potentially powerful instrument of positive discrimination, allowing educationally disadvantaged adults to overcome their previously imposed handicaps, is not at all to imply that efforts to reform basic schooling should be diminished, particularly in view of the degree to which motivation to return to education is affected by one's initial experience of it. It is, in the first place, to recognize the limitations of the school in the face of a battery of external social factors, a recognition which suggests that the role of education as a furnisher of opportunities should not cease with the end of schooling. It is also to point out that for many individuals their pattern of personal development may mean that they are better suited to exploit opportunities offered later in life. In short, reform of basic schooling and progress towards recurrent education are not mutually exclusive, but complementary and interdependent.

Recurrent education, however, is to be seen in relation not only to basic schooling but also to other policies, and in two ways. The first concerns those policies which are relevant in that they determine the broad economic and social context in which recurrent education is to be introduced, but for which it cannot be held responsible. Thus they may affect the degree to which it achieves certain objectives, but do not determine the intrinsic merits or disadvantages of the approach. The second aspect concerns the policy areas which have hitherto generally been regarded as more or less discrete, but which would have to be in some measure coordinated if recurrent education is to be implemented in any full sense. This report will make reference to the former but will naturally concern itself above all with the second group and with discussing their inter-relation.

The suggestion that conventional post-compulsory educational provision, labour market training and adult education should be coordinated on this basis implies a challenge to educational institutions to adjust their admission policies and teaching methods; to employers to redefine their approach to the design of work and to review their social responsibilities; and to governments to forge links between education, manpower, employment and social policies which will make available to the individual a more flexible pattern of education, work and leisure. * Recurrent education, therefore, is naturally to be regarded as basically belonging to the field of educational policy, but one which will be effectively implemented only in conjunction with supporting social and labour market policies. The justification for it may be put forward under two headings: effectiveness and equality.

* See "Education and Working Life in Modern Society", Report of the Secretary General's Ad Hoc Group on the Relations between Education and Employment, OECD, Document C(75)34 and addendum.

This is not the place to add to the voluminous literature which already exists on these two terms and their application to educational and other social policies, but some minimal comment is unavoidable. By positing 'equality' as an objective we do not mean absolute uniformity of wealth or status but a fairer distribution of material and non-material goods. 'Equity' is perhaps a more accurate description and avoids confusing implications of quantitative standardization, but since the debate so far has employed 'equality' we will generally continue to use the current term. 'Effectiveness' we use to describe the degree to which certain methods of resource expenditure achieve their objectives; these objectives may be vague or clearcut, implicit, or explicit, and progress towards them may be readily quantifiable or a matter of more or less subjective judgment.

Recurrent Education and Effectiveness in Educational Expenditure

Effectiveness is perhaps the broader aim, since equality is but one of the objectives - albeit a major one - which may be better realized by the distribution of learning opportunities over the individual's lifetime than by the concentration of such opportunities into an initial period of education. Education, however, is not merely a tool for promoting equality; it is also concerned with endowing the population with certain attributes (literacy, numeracy, etc.) without which no society can flourish economically or culturally. Would the shift in the distribution of education resources entailed by a policy of recurrent education impede the development of these attributes? There is clearly a danger if the argument is interpreted in a negative way as implying that beyond a certain minimum age the expenditure of resources on compulsory education is unjustified. But just as greater equity should be achieved by guaranteeing later opportunities, so it is contended that resources redeployed in this way will help to ease some of the current malaise within education.

It is largely a question of motivation: the relationship between lack of success and lack of motivation is too well documented to bear repetition. A desire to leave school early is still nearly always construed as a sign of failure, with the result that teachers often feel impelled to make heroic efforts in order to change their unwilling charges' attitudes or, as a last resort, to help them at least to a basic qualification. These efforts deserve admiration, not denigration; but if those currently disaffected were allowed to appreciate for themselves the value of education and to choose for themselves when and what they are to study, the problem of motivation might be alleviated. In most (though perhaps not all) subjects, wider experience is likely to enhance the value of study by improving motivation and by providing the student with pegs on which to hang his theoretical learning. And the complex maturation of ability, with its interaction of genetic and environmental factors, will often be better served by later opportunities.

A better balance between youth and adult education may also allow greater use of human resources. This is a vaguer notion but embraces, for instance, the potential benefits which emanate from learning in a mixed age-group; it is hardly too ingenuous to suppose that mature adults have both much to learn from and much to offer younger students. One could also point to the number of potential educators of adults: although the need for the further development of appropriate teaching techniques should be strongly emphasized, there may be a great variety of personnel willing and able to assist in the educating of adults though not seeing themselves as full-time professional teachers.

In discussing effectiveness, moreover, one cannot ignore the influence on children of adult re-entry. The decisive effect of parental attitudes on the educational achievement of the child is by now very well established, and it is argued - again a priori - that an adult who is himself currently involved in education is very much more likely to take a positive interest in his child's educational development than someone whose last direct contact with educational institutions was some 20 years earlier. This reinforces the argument for comparative effectiveness, but also brings us back to the issue of equality, since parental interest is most commonly lacking precisely on the part of those people who have themselves had an unsuccessful educational run: such is the cycle of failure.

The accelerating obsolescence of knowledge and skills is a notion that is often subscribed to but which is difficult to analyse in a precise way. Measurement of the pace of change is a largely subjective and impressionistic affair, often dependent on those developments which affect a particular individual's way of life. Nevertheless there is a certain consensus on the fact that the world is changing more rapidly than before, and on the need for policies to respond to this; indeed, whatever the actual rate of change, it would still be necessary to cater for obsolescence, so that measurement of the rate is in a sense academic.

In response, developments towards a system of recurrent education have been prompted not only by the demands of professional competence but also by economic imperatives, a fact witnessed by the enormous growth of expenditure on on-the-job training, as well as the emergent trend, discussed in the next section, towards educational leave of absence. But the issue should not be restricted to vocational training, however broadly conceived. The same reasons which have persuaded enterprises and the professions that their effective functioning entails recurrent training apply to society in general in the sense of the need to be able to respond to and control social changes. The flood of information which pours down on the individual citizen, and the growth and flux in the 'knowledge sector', have greatly accentuated the general importance of access to the tools of intellectual competence. This is, perhaps, an ungraciously mechanistic description, but it has large implications for the distribution of power in society.

All these arguments should be seen against a background of probable budgetary stringency which will accentuate the importance of effective use of resources. It is suggested that resources for education, being limited, should be deployed so that proportionately more are devoted to enabling adults to return. This raises the whole issue of the measurement of costs, including the case made out against recurrent education on financial grounds. The argument that a given amount of education provided on a recurrent basis will be significantly costlier than the same amount concentrated in an initial phase turns largely on certain methodological issues, and in particular on the standing of rate-of-return calculations, which has led to a heated debate amongst economists of education.

The arguments contained in this document do not pretend to resolve the debate, but take as a starting point the observation that there are two elements involved in those calculations: cost and benefit. It would, for example, be possible to argue that recurrent education costs more but produces more benefits - proportionately as well as absolutely - but we prefer to deal initially with the cost factor alone. The basic notion involved in orthodox calculations is that of opportunity cost: people earn higher incomes later in life, so the later they are in education and out of production, the higher the cost. It would be unfair to ignore the disclaimers made by many of the practitioners of this method, but reservations as to its accuracy must be briefly expressed if appropriate weighting is to be given to its conclusions.

An initial reservation is the inherent difficulty of allowing for the vacuum effect - that is, the extent to which workers who take educational leave of absence can be replaced and their loss of production therefore nullified. Clearly when there is a margin of unemployment this effect will be more in evidence, but even so it is not simply a question of engineering a one-for-one replacement. If a recurrent education system embraces an active manpower policy, including the management of reduced working hours and the increased participation of women in the labour force, the impact of opportunity cost is likely to be substantially cushioned. * Moreover, mobility studies and substitution analysis such as are currently being conducted in Germany will contribute towards the avoidance of dislocation and the diminution of costs. **

Such arguments, whilst demonstrating the tendency of orthodox calculations to overestimate the cost, imply acceptance of its methodological basis. A further argument, perhaps more controversial, challenges the use of income as a precise measurement and suggests that the income curve rises over lifetime for reasons other than increased

* See "Adult Training as an Instrument of Active Manpower Policy", OECD, 1972.

** See W. Singenberger and R. Lutz: "Developments in the German Labour Promotion Act of 1969", OECD document CERI/RE/74.07.

productivity alone. The accuracy of income as a measure of productivity is severely limited by a number of factors, such as restrictive practices on the part of professions and trades unions, and by public income policies often aiming at a shift in income distribution. Nor is there an equivalent obligation on those who argue thus to produce a better measure, since their concern is solely to underline the crudeness of actual income as an index and hence to suggest that the figures it engenders as opportunity costs are at best approximations (and approximations which err on the high side, since the other factors which affect the earnings curve generally serve to push the curve up rather than down).

What about benefits? A description of the model developed for the evaluation of a Canadian manpower training programme makes the point succinctly: "Ideally, we should calculate the benefits of training by measuring directly the qualitative impact on the worker's skill. This is not possible - a comparison of workers' skills with and without training is hard to make; instead we accept as a proxy the value of the differential income attributable to training. Note that the assumption that the social value of training can be approximated from differential income streams rests on the notion that labour is paid according to its contribution to output at the margin. The propriety of this assumption could be debated endlessly."* Mutatis mutandis the same is even truer of education broadly conceived than of specific training programmes, particularly since conventional rate-of-return analyses continue to attribute part of the income increases which take place later in a person's life to the education he received some 30 or 40 years previously. Social or economic benefits are surely more plausibly imputed to an educational phase the more closely they follow on it. Moreover, the costs and the benefits of educating those who follow unremunerated occupations fall totally outside the scope of this approach, the most glaring example being housewifery.

Naturally this is not a flat rejection of cost/benefit analysis as applied to education, but rather an intimation of its defects and a warning against undue obeisance to quantification. Some extremely sophisticated analyses have been devised, but they generally acknowledge that they are unable to put a figure on the externalities (such as the influence of educated parents on children's educational attainment, a more flexible labour market, or simply a more informed population), and the less restricted by vocation the education is, the harder they are to quantify. Not only is the intrinsic effectiveness of the education more often a matter of judgement; progress towards goals such as greater equity is rarely to be defined in purely numerical terms. In short, whilst rate-of-return calculations and cost/benefit analyses are tools which are not to be discarded, the limitations both of their general

* A Model for the Benefit Cost Evaluation of Canada Manpower Training Programme: Technical Report. Department of Manpower and Immigration, Ontario, 1973.

scope and of their accuracy within their own terms closely circumscribe the role they should play in determining policy. In sum, a system of recurrent education need not necessarily absorb more resources than the present system. Of course its implementation can be carried out at varying levels of expenditure, but the principle is one of redeployment rather than expansion. Indeed, one of the benefits of a move to recurrent education could well be that it prompts an overall review of the effectiveness of existing expenditure on education and training. Nevertheless, whatever the total sums involved it is probable that new methods of financing will be required, especially in view of the requirements of developments in leave of absence schemes.

Equality and Recurrent Education

To argue for recurrent education as a more effective way of planning runs the risk of inducing an excessively calculating attitude to education, for example by an unduly narrow interpretation of the function of education as the purveyor of manpower. In particular, unless conscious measures of positive discrimination are built into the proposed policies, there is an undeniable risk that recurrent education will reinforce existing inequalities: between the educationally advantaged and disadvantaged, between young and old, between skilled and unskilled (and unemployed) workers, and between men and women. It is therefore of vital importance to discuss the relation of recurrent education to egalitarianism. Much of the impetus behind the massive expansion of education has derived from considerations of equality, from the realization that the inherent exclusiveness of restricted provision at secondary and upper levels effectively deprives the great majority of people of the opportunity for personal and social development. The response to this realization has been impressive, but two fundamental observations remain true: first, that arrival at the end of the compulsory school leaving age still signals the termination of organised educational activity for the bulk of the population - in many countries an absolute majority (see Table 3). Second, that in spite of the extension of opportunity, an individual's eventual educational achievement is determined by his or her early performance, that this performance is strongly dependent on social background and that therefore, in relative terms, the expansion of opportunity has reflected, rather than redressed, social inequality. *

One of the most significant initiatives towards greater equality has been the move to replace selective schools by comprehensive schools, with the aim of avoiding the premature and self-fulfilling designation of children as scholastically incapable. Progress in this direction has been made at varying rates, but has in general broadened the scope

* See, for example, T. Husén: Social Influences on Educational Attainment, OECD/CERI 1975.

of educational opportunity. Yet unless the pretence is maintained that we can arrive at a situation where all pupils emerging from secondary school are equally qualified (both in terms of certificates and in the broader sense) there will always be sections of the population who are in a relatively inferior position - these sections being generally identifiable with the working classes. Despite the unrealized potential for positive discrimination within the regular school system, the school itself cannot fully compensate for the various social and economic factors which cause this situation; so that what is needed is an approach which prevents the distribution of post-compulsory educational resources from being determined solely by initial success, and guarantees instead the chance of taking up studies again.

However, it would be wrong to freeze the film only at the point of school leaving. Later in the life of any given age-group some members will again be relatively poorly placed, either in their occupation or in terms of personal development. They may not be the same as those whose initial achievement was lowest - indeed, if the principle of positive discrimination is built into recurrent education, and if it works effectively, they will not be - but they will still need at least the opportunity of improving their various skills. In other words, equity demands not so much that everyone should start from the same mark, nor that everyone should finish in the same position (both of which are unrealistic and maybe even meaningless as objectives), but that there should be a rolling concern for the worst placed - in other words, a constant commitment to rectifying social inequalities.

So far the argument has dealt only with the inequality which persists within given age cohorts. But there is another type of inequality - intergenerational - which is in fact accentuated by the recent expansion of education, since those who were born too early to profit are badly off, compared with succeeding generations (see Table 4). Although expansion is unlikely to continue at the same rate and the imbalance is therefore unlikely to recur in exactly the same form, at any rate in terms simply of years of education received the backlog is considerable, and pressure is already building up for a significant switch in resources from the youth to the adult sector, especially in view of the greater financial burden borne by the older groups.

One other broad type of inequality, which characterizes most societies more pervasively even than the intergenerational type, is that between sexes. The discrimination, whether open or covert, that is exercised against women is coming under increasing fire and included in this scrutiny is the part played by education, both in the unequal distribution at its higher levels and in its function as an incubator of traditional sex roles (see Table 5). Where recurrent education has a particular contribution to make is in freeing women from the choice which so often confronts them between the mutually exclusive alternatives of pursuing a career and having children. Obviously, the problems of equality of women cannot be solved only - or indeed chiefly - by a reform

of the educational system, but a pattern of recurring opportunities for learning is unarguably better suited to their life-cycle.

Yet any discussion of the role of education in bringing about greater equality must take into account its interaction with other developments, as was amply demonstrated by the analysis put before a recent OECD seminar on education, equality and life chances. The seminar documented the progress that had been made in reducing some of the more glaring inequalities,* but also stressed the fact that the effectiveness of education in this respect largely depended on concomitant changes in occupational structures to allow for a more equitable distribution of tasks. This report cannot deal fully with that topic, but we turn now to relevant trends within the world of work.

The World of Work

The introduction of manpower questions into an issue classified as educational inevitably raises several hackles. The most straightforward response to the defenders of education's purity is the reminder that any policy which claims to reach the majority of the population has no choice but to enter the workplace. Moreover, the process is two-way: what is suggested is a closer cooperation between the worlds of education and work, not a subjection of the former to the latter. The OECD has long been arguing the case for an active manpower policy which determines as well as responds to movements in the labour market. Understood in this way, an active manpower policy fully complements recurrent education, in that both approaches insist on the need to take demand into account as well as supply. Thus while the former involves such demand side measures as deliberate job creation and regional development as counterparts to vocational training and guidance, the latter underlines the reciprocal relationship which obtains between education and the workplace. In view both of the dubiousness of the dichotomy between vocational and general education - recently attacked yet again at the Conference of European Rectors in Bologna - and of the sizeable machinery which already exists for training purposes, it is only logical to reflect upon ways of coordinating educational facilities which are currently divided between various fields.

The shifting character of labour market demands makes mobility essential, but this is not simply a question of the continual acquisition of new skills. The obsolescence of skills and of knowledge puts a premium on a wider notion of ability which includes within it adaptability and a more general capacity to learn and which cannot therefore be restricted to the accumulation of specific technical skills. Moreover, mobility is not confined to the external labour market, i.e. to changes from one industry to another; the internal labour market is assuming

* See "Education, Inequality and Life Chances: The Major Policy Issues", OECD document SME/CA/74.101.

increasing importance, allowing workers to make a career within a single industry (or generic group of industries).

But it is not only labour market trends that are relevant. The average basic working week has dropped, for instance in Denmark, from 45 hours in 1960 to 41 3/4 in 1970. Some of the reduction in basic working hours has been compensated for by overtime - in the UK, for example, the basic week dropped from 47.2 to 40.5 hours between 1943 and 1968, but the actual hours worked decreased by less, from 50.0 to 44.5*; there has nevertheless been a general decrease (see Table 6). In overall terms, this has been offset by an increase in the size of the labour force, largely due to the growing economic participation of women (see Table 7). So the broad picture is as follows: a shorter basic working week, undertaken by more people, with a greater diversity of alternatives to overtime (even if the overtime is in many cases virtually forced upon the individual by economic circumstances).

The continued reduction in working hours may, then, mean simply a corresponding increase in leisure hours. But the trend towards a shorter basic working week may also take the form of releasing the worker for educational purposes during working hours. Naturally, the two possibilities are likely to happen together, so that the labour force may win, for example, a reduction of two hours in its basic working week of which one hour will be pure free time (or overtime work) and one hour will be devoted to further education. The extent to which this education is vocationally oriented will be a matter for negotiation and debate. On-the-job training is already a huge operation in many occupations, and is assuming mounting importance; but in talking of education during working hours we are not referring merely to vocational training but to broader educational opportunities for individual workers.

We have referred to the rising flood of information and to the continual need for new skills. Both of these factors are extremely relevant to the greater participation of workers in the decisions affecting their working life. Industrial democracy is a chameleon concept, ranging from the mere disclosure to the work force of decisions already taken elsewhere to the full sharing of power in the overall running of an enterprise. If it is to attain genuine status as a significant development, the participants, as well as having theoretical access to relevant information, must also dispose of appropriate skills in handling that information and in relating it to their particular position. As has been recognized, implicitly or explicitly, in several countries, this entails the release of the representatives of interested sections for the specific purpose of acquiring those skills.

This point can be related to the factors of obsolescence and labour force mobility which were mentioned earlier. Of course incipient obsolescence must be recognized and catered for in advance, and

* Ed. A.H. Halsey, Trends in British Society since 1900 (Macmillan, 1972), page 120.

naturally improved mobility is in principle desirable. Yet neither of these processes is necessarily unquestionably welcome. For example, profit margins might require rapid obsolescence of certain skills, whilst the affected section of the labour force might resist it; neither interest has an absolute priority. Recurrent education could, it is suggested, increase the mobility and adaptability of the labour force and at the same time help to prevent these developments from lending impetus to injurious trends which might otherwise be accepted as inevitable. An informed population is a sine qua non of democracy - industrial or social. Given the current employment prospects, however, phenomena such as short-time work and the reorganisation of industry may be less a matter of choice than an economic and social necessity. The imminence of substantially increased unemployment points to the purposive exploitation of education and training capacity as an immediate buffer, and, from a longer term point of view, to the potential of recurrent education as a counter-cyclical instrument of employment policy.

Allied Social Policy Measures

One of the main themes of this report is the role of recurrent education in enlarging the individual's choice throughout his lifetime. Certain concomitant measures should be mentioned which link with recurrent education in the pursuit of this objective.

The reduction of working hours has already been discussed, but implicit in this is the further notion of flexibility in working life. While the relevance of this to recurrent education is clear and needs no detailed discussion, in its more developed and coherent form it embraces a policy of social insurance and pension arrangements which also serves to break up the rigid pattern of education - work - retirement by providing the individual with drawing rights which he may use - within certain limits - at his own discretion over his lifetime. *

Reference to pensions introduces the subject of changing age distribution in the population. Demographic trends have resulted in a picture which resembles a rectangle more closely than a pyramid, and the falling birth rate, though by no means a stable phenomenon, is likely to result in a proportionately larger group of older people. Historically, 'senior citizens' as they are euphemistically called, have been regarded as an unproductive class, who have to be supported by their juniors. Many of the policies adopted as a result have been in some measure self-fulfilling: the institutional approach, however sensitively and generously implemented, often deprives the elderly of responsibility and of the chance to fend for themselves, which they may well be capable of if adequately supported in other ways.

* For further discussion, see G. Rehn, "Towards a Society of Free Choice", OECD document MS/S/74.4.

The growth of this age-group in proportion to the productive sections is due to two factors: a lengthening of the average life-span - which, though small in terms of the individual, represents cumulatively a substantial rise in the overall numbers of the existing elderly population - and the trend towards earlier retirement. This will constitute an increasing burden* unless older people are allowed and encouraged to maintain certain responsibilities and at the same time are given the choice of how far they wish to remain economically active. Recurrent education again has a part to play. The education offered will have to be appropriate in both style and content, but it is simply not true that older people are inherently incapable of continuing to learn - only if they are deprived of any opportunity do they become so.

One other allied measure is the provision of child care facilities. As will become clear later in this report, the situation of women may be regarded as one of the most pressing problems today. Eventually, men may come to share the duties of child-rearing, and to stress the need for child care facilities is not to imply that it should be an exclusively female preserve. Nevertheless, the reality is that many women are debarred both from further education, and particularly from the sort of jobs which offer good prospects, by the duties they accept (whether voluntarily or to some extent under social constraint). Adequate qualitative and quantitative provision of child-care facilities is therefore an essential measure if women are to benefit from the implementation of a recurrent education policy.** The argument is, moreover, two-pronged. For the great weight of the evidence points consistently to the decisiveness of the early years in the child's development, making such facilities an essential feature of any proposals for greater equality. In short, the promotion of pre-school facilities would benefit both generations. Certainly a young child needs its mother, and may be severely damaged in its development by her absence, but this is an argument for flexibility and for high standards of child care, not for prohibition. Moreover, child-rearing itself is not an unskilled operation, and many mothers are seriously interested in learning about it in as effective a way as possible. And in pure investment terms it is a bad idea to allow the deterioration of skills women acquire before becoming mothers.

However marginal education's impact on social change sometimes seems to be, there is good reason to believe that present educational policies could do more to attain certain key objectives. The chief motivation for recurrent education stems from dissatisfaction with the performance of the present educational system and the conviction that

* See Results of an "Enquiry on Demographic Trends", OECD document RO(73)2, Part I, Chapter II.

** For an assessment of issues, see Developments in Early Childhood Education, OECD/CERI (forthcoming).

its further straightforward expansion will not improve, and might indeed worsen, the situation. Recurrent education is meant to provide a more efficient strategy for achieving these objectives, but its chances of success will depend very largely on the degree to which it is combined with reforms in other social and economic policies.

Conclusion

It is not unduly cynical to posit that any proposal which received universal approval is either peripheral or too generalized to be truly significant. * The extension of individual choice and the improvement of adult learning opportunities are wholly unobjectionable aims, but once they are given concrete policy form they will begin to encounter opponents who discern in them practical consequences inimical to their own interests. For instance, adherents of the interpretation that recurrent education consists simply in a sizeable expansion of adult education which does not affect the structure and content of basic and post-compulsory education tend to ignore the crucial issue: is there a trade-off to be made between youth and adult education? There are others who hold that the growth of 'non-formal' provision, embracing adult education and training schemes, would constitute a parallel system which could provide healthy competition to the formal sector. Yet the burden of the argument is that the implementation of a recurrent education policy involves the closer integration of the two sectors, breaking down the administrative and psychological barriers which currently inhibit those involved in formal education from responding to external events and prevent those outside from profiting from existing facilities. Moreover, from the point of view of economy, coordination of the sectors makes sense in terms of enabling the more effective use of limited resources.

Disagreement may therefore occur between those who interpret recurrent education as the development of adult education and training programmes into a system running parallel to formal post-compulsory provision, and those who see it as involving the unification of the youth and adult sectors and the integration of formal and non-formal provision. But it would be disingenuous to pretend that acceptance of this latter interpretation would lead to unanimity, since different groups will naturally look for different benefits as forthcoming, and whilst these expectations may complement each other they may also on occasion conflict.

The importance of recurrent education will, therefore, be determined by the interplay between a plurality of interests. If the consequences are accepted of a decision genuinely to enable people to learn throughout their lives through an alternation between education and work, there are

* See Kjell Eide, "Recurrent Education and General Policy Objectives in Education", in Recurrent Education, edited by Selma Mushkin, National Institute of Education, Washington, 1974.

some far-reaching implications of social change. On the other hand, recurrent education's potential as an agent for social change is dependent on the aims of those who determine its implementation, and such aims may be to conserve existing institutions and existing power structures. Recurrent education is not a neutral social instrument, but if the risks involved in its advocacy are exposed and articulated, it is the more likely to achieve its objective of a fairer and more effective distribution of educational opportunities.

II

THE PRESENT SITUATION: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS

In the development of an educational policy there is no single point at which one can say: "this system is now an instance of recurrent education". Whereas, for example, certain schools can be clearly designated as comprehensive whilst others are selective, the introduction of recurrent education, although it possesses some necessary characteristics in the absence of which no system could truly be termed recurrent, is likely to be a matter of sequential development. To be sure, its adoption as a planning principle could be made at a single determinable moment, but the actual implementation will probably consist of a series of measures whose cumulative presence suffuses the system with a progressively stronger recurrent colour. In this part of the report, we identify and comment on developments which tint the systems in varying degrees, and concomitant problems. Formal education is naturally covered first, but the arguments put forward in the previous part make it imperative to give considerable weight to a review of developments outside the formal education system and to look particularly at the workplace.

Developments in Formal Education

a) Secondary school

Recurrent education is basically concerned with post-compulsory educational facilities, but it has certain implications for lower secondary schools which should be briefly mentioned. In the first place, the objective of enlarging the individual's choice is more easily approached if his initial direction has not already been determined by premature selection. Of course education should cater for a variety of inclinations and abilities, but the folly of attempting to discern and define these at pre-pubertal age has largely been recognized. In short, rigidly differentiated lower secondary schools are against the spirit of recurrent education.

Does this imply that all children should receive the same education at least up to the compulsory school leaving age? This question has many ramifications, most of which fall outside the scope of this report, but the rival merits of generalization and specialization are relevant to a discussion of recurrent education. Expanded opportunities for later

education would remove many of the arguments for early specialization, since there would be less pressure on the individual to acquire - now or never - detailed knowledge of a particular subject. On the other hand this argument can be stood on its head, since the safe prospect of a chance to return would allow the early specialist to follow his specific interest in the confident knowledge of being able to fill in the gaps in his general education at a later stage. The argument for choice, however, tips the balance: if a person is to be genuinely capable of deciding on his or her future, he or she must have as broad an acquaintance as possible with the various alternatives. In particular, the role of the curriculum in reinforcing sex-typing could be greatly modified by allowing boys and girls to follow courses traditionally restricted to members of the opposite sex. Research has shown the rapid changes in interests which take place roughly between the ages of 15 and 25, after which interests become more stable. * This is, of course, a phenomenon determined by many factors, but it is more logical to encourage initial variety and subsequent concentration.

Irrespective of the exact age level at which recurrent education should start, the present situation in most Member countries evinces an urgent need for a better balance between general and vocationally oriented education at both lower and upper secondary levels. ** The provision of a sound vocational element in general courses, and conversely a sound general element in more vocationally oriented courses, would avoid the present rigid structure which often prevents a genuine choice being made by each individual between continuing to post-secondary education and direct entry into the labour market. Redefinition of the structure of lower and upper secondary school, such as is under way to varying degrees in certain Scandinavian countries, gives rise to other issues which concern careers guidance and work experience schemes, both within the school and between secondary and post-secondary education.

Careers guidance needs a boost in attention and resources. Progress towards recurrent education will inevitably mean an organised but increasingly diverse range of options, to profit from which students will need considerable advice. Several countries now recognize the quantitative and qualitative inadequacy of their careers guidance services, and the involvement of employers, unions and parents in careers advice and the equalization of such advice between sexes are seen as particularly important steps forward.

One firm point about the secondary school curriculum derives from this argument. At present, work experience schemes are very largely confined to those who intend to leave school at the earliest possible

* Brunner et al. An Overview of Adult Education Research, Adult Education Association, Washington, 1967.

** For further analysis of this important area see "New Options Beyond Compulsory Education", OECD document ED(74)10.

moment. For those who are seen as capable of going on to higher education, careers advice is often not seriously offered, and as a result alternatives to staying on the educational train are not even considered (when they are considered, it is usually only to be rejected because of the difficulty of remounting the train once one has descended from it). A significant expansion of work experience schemes is called for, so that they are not restricted to those viewed as incapable of further educational progress. Administrative difficulties are only to be expected, but there is a role here for properly qualified staff, who will be responsible not only for organisation and placement but also for ensuring that the schemes are genuinely educational and not merely "a taste of the real thing". But work experience should not be regarded solely as a part of the school curriculum. Of equal importance is the provision of relevant work experience or other social experience for those students who choose not to continue directly from upper secondary to post-secondary education.

b) Post-secondary education

One particularly striking feature of post-secondary education is the proliferation of its various components, a number of which mark progress towards a greater responsiveness to individual and social needs on the part of the educational system. One of the basic themes of recurrent education is that opportunities for study should not be confined to a certain age group, but time and space, as well as age, currently represent constraints which some developments, particularly at post-secondary level, have aimed at countering.

The advancement of new policies for the total post-secondary field has been of primary concern to most OECD Member countries. The general concepts around which the new policies are formulated are: greater variety in programmes, in order to meet a much more diversified individual demand, and shorter and possibly less expensive programmes. The most prominent feature of these new policies has been the establishment of short-cycle institutions* of post-secondary education. These, together with other forms of non-traditional types of post-secondary education represent now in many Member countries a large and important part of the whole post-secondary field. Its rapid expansion poses many intricate policy questions of which two seem to be outstanding:

- the relationship between the traditional and the non-traditional sector, and the expansion of the non-traditional sector and its relation to recurrent education.

As far as the relationship between the non-traditional and the traditional sectors of education is concerned governments have so far responded in one of three ways:

* Towards New Structures of Post-Secondary Education, OECD, 1971; Short-Cycle Higher Education, OECD, 1973.

i) by creating what in the United Kingdom has been called 'a binary system', treating the traditional and non-traditional sectors as separate entities;

ii) by regarding post-secondary education as a totality and creating an integrated but diversified system embodying all its institutional manifestations and co-ordinating them as much as possible (e.g. German Gesamthochschule, Danish University Centre Projects and Swedish U 68 proposals);

iii) by treating the two sectors as interdependent (e.g. Norway, emphasizing the development of a new network of regional colleges and a partial reform of universities with close links between the two; France, with its reform of universities and the foundation of IUT's; some states in the USA, and provinces of Canada).

Yet in all three approaches there seems to be a gap in prestige between traditional and non-traditional forms, a gap which is wider in most European countries than, for example, in North America. At the same time, it would be misleading to suppose that there is a strict polarization: on the one hand the new forms of study have had some impact upon curricular reform and methods of instruction in traditional institutions, and on the other each national state or provincial system of post-secondary education, however innovative, is ultimately built upon existing foundations.

The correspondence course is perhaps the most familiar and obvious form of space-free instruction. Its advantages and disadvantages need no repeating except to add that its true role in future may well be found in its ability to be combined with any other form of study. The British Open University, for example, continues to receive much attention as a significant innovation, and deservedly so. Yet the bulk of the course content is assimilated by correspondence - it is the combination of this with the use of television, occasional tutorial classes, and imaginative and careful curriculum development which has enabled it to make its mark.

Resistance to the notion of an educational institution being physically defined is directly implied in the title of the University Without Walls in the United States, the object of which is to construct individual programmes for students taking a degree course. The key features of this experimental project are its flexible admission requirements, the involvement of students, faculty and administrators in the design of courses, the wide availability of learning resources, and the use of 'adjunct' staff, i.e. people outside the university with special skills or knowledge likely to be of benefit to the students. First students were admitted in 1971. Explicit challenge to another of the constraints - age - comes from the Université du Troisième Age in Toulouse, France, which has been set up specifically to cater for 'senior citizens' and runs courses which range from physical education to philosophy.

Change is not taking place only in the type of institution through which one can gain a degree or other qualification. After all, the aim of recurrent education is not to secure the postponement of a four-year university course to middle-age, but to allow the resources which would be expended on that course to be variously reallocated throughout the individual's lifetime. One essential change, therefore, is a shift away from the fixed notion of a higher education course as lasting at least three years (and more usually four or more). One of the 1960s biggest growth points in North American higher education was the community college, which by 1969 was attended by over 2 million full-time and part-time students, representing almost 30% of all undergraduates. The community college obviates the need to choose between no higher education at all and a four year course, not only in the chronological sense of providing one-or-two-year courses, but also in the character of its programmes, which offer the first part of a degree to be completed at university, upgrading courses for adults, vocational training or general non-credit courses.

Further examples of the move towards variety in higher education courses and qualifications are the French Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Générales (DEUG) and the British Diploma of Higher Education (DipHE), both of which have been introduced as two-year courses which result in a terminal qualification but which can also constitute the first part of a full degree, thus increasing flexibility. Both of these are recent moves, and their impact cannot yet be assessed, but concern about them has already been voiced and particularly in one respect: what valuation will be placed upon them, in general and more particularly by employers - private and public? This is another instance of the long-standing problems on the status of innovations, but it points to a particular danger as far as expansion in this policy field is concerned: if the expansion means only the accretion of additional institutions, courses and qualifications, the new arrivals are likely to form a second layer, inferior in prestige and reward (and often, correspondingly, in quality) to the established institutions.

As far as the expansion of the non-traditional sector of post-secondary education and its relation to recurrent education are concerned, there has been a tendency to consider the new trends in post-secondary education in isolation from the educational system as a whole. To a great extent this particular neglect of the adult education sector is unwarranted, on two grounds. First, some of the approaches characteristic of adult education could be introduced with advantage into the formal sector. Secondly, and more importantly, there is a serious possibility that the opening of access to higher education, whilst apparently removing one social injustice, will create a more glaring one by dimming still further the opportunity of advancement for adults who have not profited from a secondary education in the first place. In other words it is arguable that the provision of secondary level education for adults - appropriately presented - should have

priority over post-secondary education for young people. Implicit in a policy of recurrent education is a more careful analysis of the interaction between new forms of supply and demand, seen especially in the context of equal educational opportunity. If the new forms of study discussed above continue to expand primarily at the post-secondary level, they will not provide equal educational opportunity for the majority of the adults; consequently a policy for recurrent education requires that new forms of study should also be developed below the post-secondary level.

However, to point to these problems is in no sense to minimize the achievements of the last decade nor to deny the success of many of the innovations. It is more a reminder that recurrent education as a planning strategy demands not necessarily wholesale alteration of existing institutions but at least a thorough review which allows their role to be considered in conjunction with the other educational provisions. In many cases, this hinges on the factors which encourage, deter or prevent individuals from entering a given institution.

The Determinants of Participation

a) Admissions policies and certification

It was argued earlier that progress towards recurrent education cannot be visualized simply as an enlargement of adult education but must include radical change in the role of existing institutions of further and higher education. At present, admission to these institutions is almost wholly conditional upon the acquisition of certain certificates which testify to previous achievements and which are generally acquired in upper secondary school. These certificates are already under sharp fire, for whilst they distort and constrict school curricula and teaching methods they are valid neither as useful indicators of past achievement (except in a circular sense) nor as accurate predictors of future performance. Current secondary sector assessment procedures will have to change; but in order for entry to tertiary institutions to become a practicable proposition for adults, accomplishments other than those acquired only in school will obviously have to be taken into account in the selection procedure. * Part of the rationale behind recurrent education is precisely that experience is likely to help people to make the most of their education, ** and

* Selection has today acquired broadly pejorative overtones, yet this is a consequence not so much of the intrinsic process of selection as of the inequitable functions it often plays, both in its initial filtering role and in the irreversible effect it has on subsequent life chances. Blanket rejection of all selection is a facile and unnecessary reaction to the perception of these functions.

** Witness, for example, the success of the post-war Further Education and Training Scheme for British Ex-servicemen, and its equivalent scheme in the US. See H. and H.M. Peston, "The Further Education and Training Scheme", in Recurrent Education, edited by Selma Mushkin, op. cit., 1974.

work experience is the outstanding candidate for revaluation as an admissions qualification. Current recognition of this is often limited to specific courses which are almost uniquely professional in character. On the other hand, every adult over 25 in Sweden who has five years of work experience is qualified for a university place. Take-up has recently been rising fairly rapidly but concomitant measures providing financial support have not yet been fully implemented. In France, too, some steps have been taken towards waiving formal university qualification conditions in favour of adults and in New Zealand there has traditionally been considerable emphasis on providing opportunities for mature students to enter higher education institutions, roughly 6% of all new university enrolments consisting each year of people over 20 who have not passed university entrance. Illinois is one of the American states which is prepared to give credit for live experience. * But the difficulty of effective implementation is further exemplified by the case of Austria, where exemption from matriculation requirements in principle exists for adults between 25 and 45, subject to certain conditions; between 1958 and 1971 the number of applicants was a barely visible 143.

It should be pointed out that there is no justification for classifying the recognition of work experience simply as a compensatory measure for those who missed the opportunity for further education at what has as a matter of tradition been regarded as the appropriate time of life for study. Experience adds to learning capacity; conversely, absence of contact with the world outside educational institutions narrows the student's perspective on his subject (and the same holds true for those who are teaching him). Statutory enforcement of 'time out' would be a fairly drastic step (although, for example, in 1973 Griffith University in Australia offered 50 places to graduating secondary students on the basis that they would be admitted in 1975) and would have significant repercussions in the labour market, but the claims of work experience need no apologetic presentation.

Certificates are not printed to be read only by the admissions officers of further education. Their importance as attestations for job-hunters has led to the much-debated theory of credentialism, or certificate-inflation. The argument is that the more people acquire a certain qualification, for example a university degree, the more that qualification loses of its original value, which prompts students who would previously have been content with a degree to aim for a post-graduate qualification in order to restore their relative advantage in the competition for jobs. The motive for following a particular course becomes more and more one of acquiring the qualification offered on completion and less and less one of acquiring the skills - intellectual or otherwise - for which the course was originally designed.

* See "Learning Opportunities for Adults: The United States experience of degree courses specifically designed for adults", OECD document SME/ET/74.85.

It could be argued that by its very nature, the recurrent education approach is deflationary, since it renders groundless the fear that a qualification can only be acquired at the beginning of one's life. In certain sectors, for instance, employers welcome school leavers in preference to graduates, since they cost less initially in terms of salaries and the training they receive can be more closely geared to the job they are doing. This is a classic example of the ambivalent potential of recurrent education: clearly it would be open to severe attack if it simply enabled employers to hire cheaper labour, but if adequate guarantees exist for the right to return to education, then the twin dangers of a premature choice of occupation and an extravagantly delayed contact with the realities of work might be avoided.

Credentialism also constitutes an example of the dependence of recurrent education on other concomitant measures. Given the growing importance of the state as an employer, there is a clear case for it to take the lead in breaking the spiral by adopting an employment policy which discourages students from staying on simply to gain another formal qualification. Unless such a policy is adopted - and publicly promulgated - even cast-iron guarantees of future educational opportunities for those who leave initial education earlier will ring somewhat hollow.

b) Distribution, availability and demand

The need to halt the drift towards credentialism is accentuated by the current tendency for students to take longer to complete their courses. * Incentives could be provided to check this drift, but the development of modular courses, essential to recurrent education, would incidentally help. We have already stated that the aim is not to postpone courses en bloc, and there will therefore be a need for programmes which are coherent and can yet be pursued at various times. There is the danger of fragmentation with students collecting a ragbag of assorted snippets of information, which never amounts to a genuinely informed acquaintance with a discipline or subject. But the aim is to divide the learning over time, and not necessarily over subjects, so that the danger, although present, is not inherent in the notion of recurrence.

Although modular courses are by no means a new phenomenon, the term has a technological ring, and it is true that many new developments have been made possible only by technical progress. The Open University's exploitation of television's potential is well-known. In Austria a group called "Massmedia", appointed by the Ministry of Education and Arts in 1969, has been working on the planning and

* For an indication of the gap between the theoretical and the actual duration of university studies in OECD countries, see Towards Mass Higher Education, OECD 1974, page 47.

encouragement of formal educational programmes to be transmitted through the media, and most countries make more or less extensive use of the opportunities offered, both by the media and by other technical developments. The two examples given are of comparatively small countries, but educational technology is especially important for those countries where much of the population is widely scattered and therefore in effect disqualified from participation in programmes which require physical attendance.

However, there is a close interrelation between the media adopted and the objectives pursued. New media tend to create their own objectives, and thereby exercise a strong influence on which type of student is encouraged to participate. Furthermore the choice of new media is at present strongly conditioned by what is available on the market. The prospect of a marketable video-tape system is a case in point in view of its obvious potential to make education 'time-free'. In the United States, attention has been drawn to the risk that SF/TF (Space-Free/Time-Free) programmes will serve to keep out the disadvantaged from traditional colleges and universities. * A careful analysis of the impact of such programmes on the distribution of education ought therefore to precede and accompany their introduction.

Availability, then, is not ensured primarily by the introduction of new technology. On the other hand, the localization of provision implied by such an argument is necessary for reasons other than that of physical accessibility alone, since there is evidence that psychological barriers are more easily overcome the more the individual sees the activity as part of the local environment. For a number of reasons, a further concentration of educational facilities in large urban centres - such as most contemporary post-secondary institutions represent - would effectively debar large groups of the population, particularly since part-time study is likely to be an important characteristic of any system of recurrent education.

The Norwegian regional colleges demonstrate how wide one can reach given appropriate organisation and methods. Similarly, areas in New Zealand which do not possess a community college - either because they are too thinly populated, or for other reasons - are appointing small teams whose function is to mobilize local educational resources and to stimulate the population to exploit them to the full. Proposals have been put forward in Yugoslavia to pool into local 'school centres' existing school resources at secondary and tertiary level, with the further aim of linking such centres to an association of enterprises in various sectors based on a similar geographical unit. In this way, a closer coordination may be achieved both between the

* See, in particular, Time, Space and Education: Notes on the Future of Education (Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse, New York, 1972).

different education sectors and between them and the world of work,* meeting educational, economic and community needs more effectively.

Such developments evince a more positive approach than the conventional reliance on 'demand'. For if demand is interpreted in a passive sense, the authority's responsibility will be confined to ensuring that the expectations which are voiced are met as fully as possible - no mean feat, but one which ignores the existence of unexpressed demand. This somewhat metaphysical notion - perhaps 'need' might be a better term for it - presents thorny political problems, in particular the risk of stigmatization, but effective outreach must include the evocation of wants as well as the meeting of demands, if equality of opportunity is not to be "the impertinent courtesy of an invitation offered to unwelcome guests in the certainty that circumstances will prevent them from accepting it."** This is emphatically not to suggest that particular demands can easily be engineered, nor that if they can they necessarily should be. The point is rather that to ignore the issue of unexpressed demand constitutes as much a choice of policy as does a decision to implement definite measures towards meeting it: hence neutrality is no justification.

Yet discussion of the demand factor is likely to be significantly affected by changes in the individual's attitude, where there is a discernible trend towards increased demand for education later in life, complemented by a diminishing inclination to follow the traditional pattern of uninterrupted education between 7 and 25. For instance, recent figures for total enrolments and new entrants into higher education indicate that in Canada, France, Japan, Sweden, UK and US the growth rate has slackened since 1968.*** In other countries, certainly, the expansion has continued, and demographic and economic factors make forecasting hazardous, but there is no doubt that attitudes among students towards education are in a state of flux. On the other hand there is growing evidence of the increased demand for education later in the individual's life. For example, the US Commission on Non-Traditional Patterns of Study (the Gould Commission) has pointed to the magnitude of the potential demand from adults; the Commission estimates from a sample survey that nearly 80 million people (about three-quarters of the adult population of the United States) are "would-be learners". Of course, this figure is all-embracing and approximate, but nevertheless impressive. In Sweden the phenomenon of changing demand has become clear at the university level during the last 2 or 3

* "Recurrent Education in Yugoslavia": CERI/OECD, 1972.

** R.H. Tawney: Equality (George Allen and Unwin, 1931), p. 150. See also S.M. Miller, Demand for Recurrent Education, in Recurrent Education, edited by Selma Mushkin, National Institute of Education, Washington, 1974.

*** The Educational Situation in OECD Countries (OECD, 1974), page 32.

years, with students over 25 on their way to outnumbering the ordinary student coming from upper-secondary education. *

However, even if these changes can be interpreted as a shift in social demand towards a better balance between youth and adult education and thereby represent a further source of impetus towards a system of recurrent education, there will be no fundamental impact on the basic pattern of demand structure unless supporting measures are developed which make it an economically viable proposition to postpone some education to periods later in the individual's life cycle. Failure to develop such measures would almost certainly induce a stiffening of the social selection process. We know little about the impact made on the social composition of those continuing to higher education by an increase in economic and employment uncertainty; but it is well established that enrolment in adult education is in general highly correlated with above-average basic education. This is, for example, true not only of the Open University and of the French law on "formation continue" of 1971, but also of orthodox adult classes. There are, then, signs of a change in demand for education, although if this potentially healthy trend is not accompanied by appropriate supporting measures to cater for the needs of all individuals it may turn into a 'second creaming', accentuating the imbalances between social groups and between generations.

This section has pointed to some of the developments relevant to recurrent education which have taken place in various countries. It may be noted that there have been far greater changes in the post-secondary than in the secondary sector, but the problems in post-secondary education are to a great extent a function of secondary education, and a reorganisation of the latter and the coordination of structural and administrative arrangements are consequently of great importance. The introduction of recurrent education must be part of a wider policy for educational change, in which all types and levels are carefully orchestrated. So whilst the variety of response described above it encouraging, proliferation is often a forerunner of instability, and it is essential that existing facilities should be drawn upon as far as possible as a base for coherent innovation.

Developments within the World of Work

As far as the relation of employment to recurrent education is concerned, two types of development must be distinguished, on the basis referred to above. The first comprises such phenomena as the further reduction of working hours, greater flexibility of working time and industrial democracy, which are today high on the agenda for discussion in a number of OECD Member countries, and which fall under

* Source: Report of the Chancellor's Office, Stockholm, 1974.

the broad rubric of 'quality of working life'. * Space prevents a full discussion in this report of their interrelationship with recurrent education, but their potential importance is obvious in encouraging flexibility and thereby influencing the actual and prospective demand for recurrent education. The second type of development is contained in the rapid growth of a whole range of manpower, on-the-job and in-service training programmes. Moreover - and perhaps for recurrent education even more important - there is the gradual emergence of educational leave of absence as a new individual right to education and training. In the following section we will focus predominantly on this second type, on the underlying premise that these developments might eventually be brought into line on a policy level with those we have discussed earlier under the heading of formal education.

A basic caveat should be entered at the outset: the growth of educational opportunities at work, however carefully designed to meet the requirements of equity, runs the risk of exacerbating the difficulties encountered by certain groups. If educational leave of absence and occupational training schemes are not to accentuate existing imbalances, they must take into account the situation of those who are in a marginal position in the labour force or who are outside it altogether. In particular, because women are proportionately less economically active than men, an upsurge in such schemes might leave them comparatively even worse off than before. It is, moreover, not simply a question of participation in the labour force, since women are commonly discriminated against in the quality of jobs offered and in the opportunities open to them of improving their intellectual and occupational qualifications. Significant progress towards redressing the balance in favour of this half of the population - it is perhaps misleading to classify them as a group - must include a substantial increase in the possibilities for mature women to return to education whether or not they are in the work force. Likewise, there are disadvantaged groups within the work force. Certain workers, especially the young, are likely to lose their jobs for economic reasons; others, with few skills, will find it difficult to find a job at all; finally, many will be reluctant to undertake occupational training which they compare to schooling where they have often experienced failure.

By contrast, the professions clearly exhibit a growing awareness of the need to recognize and forestall the dangers of obsolescence. ** In some cases the response has been to encourage voluntary attendance at refresher courses: the James Report on the training of teachers in the UK represents such a move at the national level, with its recommendation of the equivalent of one term's release every 7 years for each

* "Education and Working Life in Modern Society", op. cit.

** A recent Canadian survey estimated - very crudely - that the competence of an engineering graduate has diminished roughly by half five years after the completion of his initial training (compared with 12 years in 1940), and that of the medical graduate follows the same pattern.

teacher. In other fields compulsion is exercised, though generally at a much narrower level. In the US, for instance, five State Medical Societies and one specialty society (the American Academy of General Practitioners) now require a specified number of hours in attendance at continuing education programmes per year as a prerequisite for continued membership in the organisation. The existence of a formal equal opportunity for all thus runs the risk of confirming inequalities rather than diminishing them.

There are severe difficulties involved in the review and classification of non-formal educational facilities, which range from the wholly unorganised and casual variety to more or less balanced programmes of educational leave of absence. It is to measures which aim at the latter that we will refer, as marking the most significant progress.

Under pressure from the trade unions and other quarters, the international organisations began to debate educational leave of absence as early as 1965 with a resolution of the 49th Session of the International Labour Conference which advocated 'the access of workers to various types of paid educational leave, as distinct from holidays with pay for recreational purposes, in order to give them the opportunity and incentive to acquire the further education and training which they need to carry out their duties at the workplace and to assume their responsibilities as members of the community'. * The work of the ILO resulted in a Convention of the 59th Session of the International Labour Conference in 1974, ** which included in its preamble the following considerations:

> 'that the need for continuing education and training related to scientific and technological development and the changing pattern of economic and social relations calls for adequate arrangements for leave for education and training to meet new aspirations, needs and objectives of a social, economic, technological and cultural character;
> that paid educational leave should be regarded as one means of meeting the real needs of individual workers in a modern society;
> that paid educational leave should be conceived in terms of a policy of continuing education and training to be implemented progressively and in an effective manner. '

* International Labour Conference: 58th Session, Geneva 1973, Report VI(1).

** The results in favour of adopting the convention were as follows:

All countries of ILO:	Members of Government	- 162 'for' out of 193
	Employer Representatives	- 40 'for' out of 90
	Employee Representatives	- 93 'for' out of 93
OECD Member countries:	Members of Government	- 43 'for' out of 45 (1 abstention)
	Employer Representatives	- 11 'for' out of 22 (1 abstention)
	Employee Representatives	- 23 'for' out of 23.

Even if, juridically, a convention has to be ratified by each State in order to become operative, this convention clearly constitutes an important step towards recurrent education.

The debate held at the ILO was concerned with paid educational leave of absence, which is the most advanced form, since the maintenance of remuneration constitutes an essential element in the individual's exercise of his new right. For example, in France, the exercising of the right to leave for training purposes in certain cases does not guarantee financial compensation for loss of income resulting from the absence. Naturally, numerous enterprises have organised training courses of their own accord for their employees and do maintain their salaries; but the principle of paid educational leave radically modifies the situation: it recognizes the right of initiative on the part of the worker who may use his right, even in the case of vocational training, to attend training institutes outside the enterprise; it also refers to general and trade union training, posing intricate questions concerning the division of costs between the enterprise, the workers and the state; and it affirms that the leave should be considered as working time, both as regards the preservation of workers' social rights and as regards the right to re-employment with the same enterprise.

Unfortunately, it is nearly impossible to make a precise evaluation of educational leave. In the first place there is a lack of statistics, particularly on the real training efforts of enterprises for their own employees independent of all official regulations. * The adult systems of education, which are much larger than those concerned with educational leave, are extremely complex, and, finally, most systems of educational leave are very recent and consequently not as yet amenable to assessment. Nevertheless, certain countries have already launched schemes on a scale large enough to warrant description.

The 1971 French law on "formation continue" allows up to 2% of a firm's labour force to take leave of absence at any one time, and requires a minimum proportion of the wage bill - at present 1%, which should rise to 2% by 1976 - to be devoted to the financing of such leave. This amounted in 1973 to 3,400 million francs from the employers, plus 1,600 million from the state, which together constitute roughly 15% of the total budget for education - a far from negligible proportion. In terms of stimulating interest in training, the law has been successful, although for many firms (particularly the larger ones) it has merely codified existing practice. Two major criticisms are emerging: the use to which the leave is put, which is at present purely vocational, although the law's preamble sets targets of social as well as occupational development, and the social composition of those who profit from it, with a higher proportion of management than employees participating,

* See Maureen Woodhall, "Adult Education in the United Kingdom: an estimation of volume and costs", OECD document DAS/EID/72.49.

more men than women and more employees of big firms than of small. * Progress towards equality is notably absent in this last category; it presents particular problems which are only likely to be solved by specific public policy, since the small firms self-evidently have far less room for manoeuvre in the deployment of personnel.

These and other flaws are apparent in other measures which nevertheless constitute an encouraging trend. A 1973 Belgian law gives full-time workers the right to be absent from work, on full pay, for a certain number of hours but is restricted to those who are under forty years of age. In 1974 the sum of state and employers' contributions, each of which represented 0.2% of the total wage bill, amounted to nearly 2,000 million francs. In Germany, the Labour Promotion Act of 1969 represented another step towards establishing the right of employees to pursue further education with extensive compensation for expenses and loss of pay, although here again an analysis of the participants in 1970 reveals that younger employees (those under 35) are the most heavily involved and that workers with the least amount of formal education are underrepresented. Other significant developments include the 1974 agreement reached in Italy between employers and the Confederated Metalworkers Union, giving the worker the right to 150 paid hours of educational leave over a period of three years, the bill currently passing through the Swedish parliament which establishes the right to leave of absence for educational purposes, and the expenditure in Denmark of 260 million krone on occupational training particularly directed towards disadvantaged workers.

In spite of the diversity of existing systems and the differing emphasis given to a variety of related issues to be found in each individual country, two distinct approaches can be discerned in the history and development of educational leave of absence. The first approach, which conforms more closely to the ILO convention, is the recognition

* The figures for 1973 show some relative improvement, but the gaps are nevertheless widening in absolute terms:

	PERCENTAGE PARTICIPATING:					
YEAR	MANAGEMENT	EMPLOYEES	MEN	WOMEN	EMPLOYEES OF LARGE FIRMS (2,000 + EMPLOYEES)	EMPLOYEES OF SMALL FIRMS (UNDER 50 EMPLOYEES)
1972 ...	24	6	12	6	18	2
1973 ...	30	10	16	10	25	3

SOURCE: Projet de Loi de Finances pour 1975: Formation Professionnelle et Promotion Sociale. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris 1974.

of educational leave of absence as an individual right. Such a system exists for example in France, Sweden and Belgium, and from all early indications could be the choice of the Netherlands. The aims of this approach and the discussions which took place during its development were mainly concerned with social mobility and the right of the individual to training, education and culture. Under this approach are subsumed two rights: the right of the individual to choose which course he or she wishes to follow (within a given set of rules covering the eligibility of certain courses and institutions under the scheme) and the right to be absent from work to follow these courses. This latter right may or may not include the right to some form of financial reimbursement for wages lost as a result of the absence. In Belgium, for example, where educational leave of absence is compensatory for time already spent studying during leisure hours, the fulfilment of requirements for the right to educational leave of absence automatically gives the right to financial compensation.

In the cases of Belgium and Sweden some form of positive discrimination in favour of certain groups is built into the systems. This may take the form of a ceiling on the amount of salary reimbursement allowed, or give priority for educational leave of absence to certain groups. The employer may not refuse to grant educational leave of absence to an individual worker (if, of course, he meets the eligibility requirements) but mechanisms usually exist for the delaying of the leave for a period of time, even though the employer may be required to make a strong case for why this is necessary.

The second approach starts from a totally different viewpoint. It is concerned with the importance of vocational training in meeting the changing needs of an industrial society. Its objective is broadly the stimulation of the quality and quantity of industrial training and its aims include increasing the flexibility of the work force, the upgrading and updating of skills, and the training of sufficient skilled manpower. In Canada, for example, the Adult Occupational Training Act of 1967 gave the Manpower Centres the task of referring for training those whose skills were inadequate or inappropriate for the needs of business and industry. Not only would the costs of providing such training be borne by the Federal Government, but in addition the individual would receive an allowance to meet his living costs during the training period. * In this approach, educational leave of absence is not regarded as an individual right but one of the elements involved in an industrial training policy which is designed to meet overall national goals. In this second approach, it is usually the employers' and employees' representatives who decide the list of priorities for industrial training. In the United Kingdom, for instance, the schemes were so structured that the amount of financial contribution depended upon the type of training

* The Canadian Manpower Training Programme in the mid-1970s: Ministry of Manpower and Immigration, Ontario 1974.

undertaken. As the systems consisted of a proportional levy on the enterprises and training costs were reimbursed by the body who collected the levy (the Industrial Training Boards), the decisions of management were likely to be influenced by the amount of reimbursement that they would receive. In Canada, similarly, the Department of Manpower and Immigration has from the beginning provided incentives to employers by reimbursing a portion of their costs, provided certain conditions are met.

Both of these approaches and the programmes that result from them deal only with that proportion of the population who are actually employed, and show similar patterns of historical development. The impetus for the programmes came from forces outside the government, for example, the trade unions or the employers' organisations. Although several countries (e.g. France, UK, Yugoslavia, Belgium) had undergone a recent reorganisation of their technical education system there is no evidence that any impetus for educational leave of absence came from the education sector itself. There is rather the impression that the education sector was regarded as something quite apart from the idea of educational leave of absence and industrial training. This was sometimes explicitly reflected in the regulations which emerged and formed the basis of the various programmes. The United Kingdom Industrial Training Boards (ITBs) composed of equal numbers of employees' and employers' representatives, is a case in point. Representatives from the educational sector were allowed to be present at the meetings but were explicitly excluded from voting on any matters which concerned levy and grant financing arrangements. In fact, nowhere in all the documents requested by and submitted to the government by the various bodies for consideration when drafting regulations on educational leave of absence, do we find a policy statement, nor a request for one, from the traditional education sector.

This lack of communication is particularly regrettable as regards the content of the education received during leave of absence, which is another focal point of discussion. In drawing heavily upon the world of work we recognize the danger that recurrent education will become identified with recyclage, or pure retraining. In the first place, however, pragmatism requires one to put one's shoulder to whichever part of the wheel's circumference is uppermost, and the establishment of leave of absence as a widespread right is the first step towards ensuring educational options for the individual over his lifetime. Moreover, even genuinely available opportunities will remain unexploited if there is not sufficient motivation on the side of the potential participants, and motivation is very commonly closely linked with occupational relevance.

The important issue is not so much to define the exact character of the educational provision as how to give to the individual the power to choose for himself what sort of things he wants to learn. In any event Article 2 of the ILO convention gives an acceptable basic description of its purposes:

a) training at any level;
b) general, social and civic education;
c) trade union education.

One may hazard a reasonable guess that the attainment of the second of these three aims will cause the most problems, but it is at the same time the one in pursuit of which the formal education system has above all a part to play. The formal sector has up to now responded in very lukewarm fashion, but it is questionable whether it can continue to ignore the significance of the growth of educational leave of absence.

Conclusion

This part of the report has been devoted to an empirical description and partial assessment of developments which have taken place towards recurrent education within both the formal educational system and the world of work. However, the argument put forward at the end of Part I for a policy framework embracing the two areas is in contrast to the way in which these developments seem to be running more or less parallel with each other. This may be readily understandable in view of the way institutions traditionally evolve within existing departmental boundaries, but if a deferred right to education is to be at all widely exercised and if resources are to be most efficiently used, the two sectors must eventually be brought under a common policy umbrella.

III

AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE: IMMEDIATE POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The previous chapter described some empirical developments which may be regarded as encouraging for proponents of recurrent education. It will be clear from the range of those developments that countries vary enormously in their positions, and that it is not simply a matter of locating them on a continuum whose further end represents a fully-fashioned system of recurrent education. For, in the first place, in any country promising developments may co-exist with rigidities and obstacles which are likely to make further progress difficult, and charting progress is therefore a subtle operation which must take many disparate factors into account.

Secondly, there is the eternal planner's dilemma, which involves the optical contortion of peering into the future whilst simultaneously focusing on more or less immediate problems. Proposals for the long term can only be regarded as meaningful if it is possible, without indulging in unnecessary futurological speculation, to sketch in some of the intervening ground to be traversed. Recent changes in demographic forecasts, in the demand for education, and in the general economic situation have again underlined the speed with which the parameters of planning can be drastically altered, not simply in quantitative matters such as the amount of resources available, but also in terms of the types of policy responses required. Nevertheless, a state of flux demands adaptability rather than an abandonment of planning, and this part of the report, taking general policy objectives of recurrent education as stated, will attempt to identify certain key issues which derive from the first two parts and which countries are likely to have to tackle. The importance of the various areas will differ from country to country, and their immediacy will similarly vary, but the conclusions contained in the analysis below may help to clarify what are the major directions to be taken in the short term and yet in coherence with the long-term policy objectives of recurrent education.

Coordination and Consultation

One of the main themes in the argument has been the importance of interweaving policies which are more usually regarded as having little, if anything, to do with each other. This is both economically rational and intrinsically important to the success of the various

proposals made, since they are often interdependent. Without such interweaving, some of the policies which go to make up the overall strategy of recurrent education will serve only to exacerbate the very difficulties they are intended to solve.

There are two elements involved. The first concerns coordination between governmental and administrative departments, and the channels of communication between them. Pleas for coordination sometimes result merely in a swollen bureaucracy, yet the ambitious scope of recurrent education need not result in a corresponding growth of bureaucratic structures, but rather in the informed discussion of conflicting and coinciding elements at the highest policy level. The very process of joint budgeting, for instance, which would be entailed in the coordination of educational and manpower policies, should in principle result in the rationalization of methods and the better use of resources. Some of the anomalies which so often prove politically embarrassing could be detected and excised before their impact is felt. In sum, the 'multiplier effect' would mean that the policies could be combined to greater purpose than if implemented in isolation.

The second, perhaps less technical, element is consultation. There will be many groups with interests in recurrent education which will sometimes diverge and sometimes cohere, and to encourage the expression of interests and the involvement of the parties concerned in the formulation of the various policies is a more realistic approach than the imposition of a previously designed plan.

Each country has its own administrative structure and its own procedures for consultation, on which it would be inappropriate for this report to pass specific comment. Yet it is clear that the standard of communication between those involved in relevant sectors is often low, if it exists at all; even where channels are clear, a distinction must be drawn between the mere exchange of information and an effective coordination of policy.

If it is true that those responsible for the different areas see too little of each other, the first step is to provide a forum. Respecting countries' individuality, therefore, a first conclusion to be drawn is the need to appoint a Commission on recurrent education, whose own composition would initiate the process of coordination (or improve it where it already exists) by bringing together representatives of education, labour and social affairs ministries, employers, unions, the educational establishment and research workers. The broad remit of the Commission would be to review the relevance of recurrent education to current national policies and institutions, to identify particular areas in which progress could be made and particular problems which are likely to arise, and to debate the issues and proposals suggested below.

It is recognized that the constitution of some countries might make the appointment of such a national Commission inappropriate. In countries with a federal or cantonal structure, regional Commissions

might be a more fruitful idea; indeed, whatever the constitutional position, it is important to follow through most of the proposals at a local as well as national level.

A Budget for Recurrent Education

Despite the attainment by current accounting procedures of new levels of sophistication, estimating the economic outlay even on formal education is a hazardous affair. Many countries have a system of financing whose complexity seems sometimes to be such that it might have been expressly designed to rule out the composition of an accurate educational budget. When it is argued, as it is for recurrent education, that several other financial elements should be incorporated, the complexities are compounded, but any serious policy proposals must include consideration of the financial implications.

One of the basic premises on which the argument for recurrent education is founded is that there should be a shift in resources from youth to adult education. The first conclusion to be derived in this respect is that the current educational budget, as conventionally composed, should be analysed so that the proportional allocations made to youth and adult education are revealed as clearly as possible, and that from this analysis there should follow policy decisions on the degree to which the proportion can and should be altered; and that in the review of resource allocation the principle of positive discrimination should be given prominence.

Such a review is initially the business of the ministries of education. But the emergence of the notion of a deferred right to education - that is, the possibility of postponing to later phases of one's life the exercise of one's right to education - requires the rapid evolution of a rational financial system which will draw on a variety of sources, allowing the funds available to be used in the optimal way, both economically and socially. It is therefore further concluded that the possible evolution of a system of financing recurrent education, including closer coordination between the financing of youth and adult education and the development of schemes for paid educational leave, should be the subject of early discussion and analysis. From whom the initiative for this discussion will come depends on the respective attitudes of those involved, but clearly if a commission is set up along the lines suggested in section 1, it would be the forum in which proposals could be aired. Actual implementation will presumably arise either from legislation or from negotiation; what is important is that the legislators and negotiators have before them as coherent a body of proposals as possible.

The first part of this report showed how recurrent education will require new methods of finance, and the second part described some of the developments which have already taken place in the funding of educational leave of absence schemes. Public provision along orthodox

lines is the most obvious method of financing recurrent education, but other approaches are already in operation. There are, for example, such measures as the payroll tax used to finance "formation continue" in France, and a similar levy employed to finance part of the Training Opportunities Scheme in the UK. We have already pointed out that such schemes are not always geared to meet the needs of the disadvantaged, but in principle they could be sufficiently flexible to do so, for instance by containing a clause which specified the expenditure of a certain percentage of the levy on certain categories.

National financing structures will naturally contain a wide variety of mechanisms, but any measures must provide for maintenance costs as well as direct costs, so that the individual is not deterred by the prospect of hardship being incurred by his or her dependents. The maintenance of those earning higher incomes would obviously be more expensive, but this allows a progressive element to be built in by switching at a certain point to income-tied loans, allowing the individual to maintain his above-average standard of living without its exercising at the same time a regressive influence. In conclusion, therefore, it is proposed as a general principle of financing that there should be a basic allowance grant for direct and maintenance costs, to be topped up on request by loans tied to future income increases, and that the generosity of the support granted should be in part determined by the age at which the individual terminated his initial education.

The 16-19 Age Group

To judge from the policies which affect it, the outstanding problem for this age group is to devise appropriate options between education and work. Although in many OECD Member countries those who have left school when they enter this category constitute a virtual majority (see Table 3), the heterogeneous collection of services offered to them rarely add up to a coherent policy, and no department seems consistently willing to assume the responsibility. For those who leave school at the earliest opportunity, prospects are at present meagre for their careers, for their future education, and for their immediate employment. Many countries have some form of legislation embodying apprenticeship systems for day or block release schemes, but such measures are not always effective, even where there is a statutory right. To place a compulsory obligation on employers therefore has considerable appeal, but it entails numerous complications such as a probable deterioration in the employment prospects of young people who carry with them such a negative dowry. Their prospects are further diminished by the combination in some countries of compulsory military service with the imposition of job security spanning the period of service, discouraging employers from taking on those who will soon be called up.

A primary conclusion, therefore, is that the major responsibility for assuring members of this group continued access to learning

opportunities should rest squarely with the public education authorities. This is to propose not that the ministry should be directly responsible for all relevant provision, but that it should accept the onus of ensuring its availability. For this to be a realistic policy, the responsibility for ensuring the right of the young person to continue his or her education after leaving school should be in part discharged at a local level by groups composed of representatives from the administration, employers, unions and the educational institutions, whose functions will be to review and improve the available options, including the possibility of return to full-time education.

The viability of alternation between work and study depends largely on real choices being made available by the school. The first moment at which this occurs is towards the end of compulsory schooling (understood as the lower limit of this age group), and the arguments outlined on pages 22-23 are designed to ensure that the choice is a genuine one. Briefly recapitulated, they are as follows: that up to the end of compulsory schooling there should be non-selective education, with a common-core curriculum; that work experience schemes should be extended so that the whole of any given age group is encouraged to participate; and that guidance services should be greatly improved and offered to all pupils at the appropriate time.

Those who leave school at the earliest possible moment rule themselves out as future beneficiaries of educational expenditure, both indirect, since they do not use the educational provision, and direct, since they receive no financial assistance. For this reason a modification of the regressive character of expenditure on this age group is needed, and therefore a certain percentage (perhaps 10%) of the budget for this age group should be earmarked to enable educational authorities to fulfil their responsibility to those who leave school at the minimum age. It is, moreover, specifically suggested that the resources so assigned could be used to help those who immediately experience particular difficulty in finding employment, as a measure of positive discrimination.

A proposal which is often made in the interests of equity in this sector is that financial assistance should be given to those who need it to enable them to stay on into upper secondary school. This merits support, but it should be recognized that as far as initial education is concerned, its egalitarian potential has certain limits. The small minority who actively wish to remain in school but are prevented by financial considerations should be aided, but by this time the competition is over for the majority, and the major emphasis should be on guaranteeing them the chance to return, whether they wish to take up this chance fairly soon or delay it until adulthood.

The case has already been argued for work experience schemes to be extended to the whole age group as one form of encouragement to make a break in their education; the complementary financial measure is the guarantee of support later on in their life. There is

a risk here: that to provide incentives to young people to leave education would constitute a severely retrograde step towards greater selectivity, since the proportionately smaller group of those who decide to continue directly with further education would closely resemble the highly socially determined university population of previous decades and would similarly dominate access to the jobs with high status and high income.

The danger of greater selectivity is a real one, but a combination of financial, admission and employment policies may serve to neutralize it and, indeed, to redress current imbalances in the access to education. The latter two are discussed elsewhere; as for financial support, the guiding principle is that initial education should be coordinated with educational leave of absence schemes in such a way that those who have least profited from the former should be at the head of the queue for the latter.

The preceding conclusion was for a horizontal extension of the budget to include at least some of those who leave school early. The points made above lead to the conclusion, which amounts to a vertical extension, that financial assistance to the 16-19 age group should be provided on the basis of assuring the right of return to early leavers. The idea of 'a year in the bank', which has been canvassed in certain quarters, and which would support the introduction of a deferred right to education, is clearly relevant, and a study of its feasibility would again be a task for the Commissions proposed above.

Admissions Policies and Certification

Financial assistance is one way of making education available to those who would otherwise be unable to profit from it. But if educational institutions do not radically modify their admissions policies, two consequences are likely: first, there will be a regression to a more discriminatory process of selection, since those who have made the choice to interrupt their studies will find their access to these institutions blocked through lack of initial certification; and secondly, the response to the development of educational leave of absence will be the emergence of parallel institutions to cater for the formally unqualified (at whatever level, bar the highest), rather than an integrated system. In many OECD Member countries admission rules maintain a strict separation between what is learned inside and outside school, or in other words between the subject-learning within a formal educational institution, and experience-based learning which may have been acquired at the place of work or elsewhere. Clearly, the realization that the work experience he has gleaned at work is reckoned as irrelevant to his ability to pursue a course is unlikely to encourage the individual to alternate between education and work.

Admissions policies could therefore go considerably further in encouraging prospective students to gain some experience of working

life. The initiatives taken by some Member countries in this direction, as described in Part II, support the conclusion that admissions policies should be reviewed with the aim of allowing a better integration of theory and practice, and that in particular there should be an extension of quota systems which reserve a proportion of places at institutions of post-secondary education, using the criteria of age and work experience. This conclusion contains an implicit attack on the rigid system of certification which characterizes most educational systems, and whose effects are two-fold: the repercussions for the educational process which it purports to assess, and its use and abuse in the job market. Assessment of progress is a necessary component of any educational process, but it need not distort the curriculum and teaching in the way orthodox systems of examination currently do.

New methods of assessment are under scrutiny in traditional education, and could be well complemented by the development of ways of validating the individual's relevant work experience without at the same time stimulating a proliferation of certificates.

New Personnel Requirements

Proponents of recurrent education may appear to have the ultimate goal of instilling in everyone a profound sense of guilt if they are not participating in some form of educational activity. This is, of course, exaggerated; but the objection is seriously made that recurrent education, by its insistence on the importance of 'stopping out', on the provision of the chance to return, and on the objective of equality, removes education from those who want it and imposes it on those who do not. The first point to make in answer is that total needs cannot be equated with expressed demand, and that demand is generally articulated only in the presence of suitable supply. In view of this, the demand expressed for post-secondary education as an immediate continuation of secondary education can be seen as more a reflection of the absence of other alternatives than a choice of absolute purity made in the presence of a full range of options. The assurance of opportunities to return later to education might a priori be expected to reduce the demand (frequently deriving from parental pressure) for an extended initial education.

Conversely, absence of enthusiasm for resuming education later in life may be due to the nature of the education, the way in which it is presented and its availability. Even the group of students presumably most motivated - those at university - exhibit a high drop-out rate; one may reasonably infer that this is due in no small part to the lack of serious attention to their pedagogic requirements and the argument applies with greater force to those who have experienced less success in their educational career. It could therefore be concluded that appropriate training and retraining facilities should be provided to enable teachers and administrators adequately to meet the requirements of their new clientele at post-compulsory level.

To do this, they will need to be in touch with other personnel, of whom one particularly important category is that of the workplace counsellor. Recent measures in some countries provide for the appointment of such a counsellor, whose function is to assist and advise workers on their choice of course, and to promote awareness of what educational facilities are available. * Such advice should not be restricted to the workplace: there is a crucial role to be played in reaching those who have little likelihood of applying on their own for study, so that at the very least they are aware of the opportunities.

In order for outreach activities to be effective, their practitioners should have a good understanding of and familiarity with the milieu of those whom they aim to contact. Unions here have a big part to play, but this is an area where there exists an abundance of human resources to tap, in the dissemination of information and the provision of informal support. Moreover, drawing on such sources would help to avoid a danger which is partly inherent in the recommendation of adequate training and new personnel: creeping professionalization. The basic dilemma is how to build up a coordinated and genuinely available body of educational provision without simultaneously injecting into its veins a lethal dose of institutionalized professionalism. It follows that provision should be made for the appointment of workplace counsellors and other personnel capable of informing and advising those inside and outside the work force of their rights to and opportunities for education.

Recurrent Education and Employment Policies

Repeated reference has been made to the relevance to recurrent education of certain developments affecting the quality of working life and the degree to which the egalitarian impact of recurrent education is dependent on changes in occupational structures. ** The world is not educocentric, but the control of knowledge is an issue which is central to the balance of power in society, especially in relation to industrial democracy - a protean notion, but one which at the very least entails some sharing of power. In order, however, for this sharing not to be merely formal, the people concerned must have access to what has been called 'power-relevant' knowledge. *** In short, the process is a dual one: to function effectively, industrial democracy requires its participants to be well versed in certain fields; conversely, participation in the democratic process inevitably stimulates motivation for education as those involved perceive the need for this expertise.

* See, for example, Extended Adult Education: Outreaching Work and Study Circles, Stockholm 1974.

** See Work in America (Report of a special task force to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare), MIT Press 1973.

*** M. H. Seeman: Powerlessness and Knowledge, Sociometry No. 2, 1967.

One must, however, delimit the direct policy implications of recurrent education, and the developments referred to above fall outside the immediate circle. Employment policies, on the other hand, are of vital importance to recurrent education, since the attraction of a study period is dependent on the prospect of reemployment at the end. This is true if the individual has followed a wholly non-vocational course, and even more so if he has opted for vocational training, since there is no surer recipe for frustration and rapid dissolution of motivation than the perception that newly acquired skills find no application. Part of the role of a public employment policy is therefore to meet the needs of the individual in safeguarding his employment situation and in improving his career prospects. In particular, there is a need to achieve a balance between internal and external labour market training. * For if training is provided within the enterprise the skills acquired are likely to be closely geared to the needs of the firm and hence difficult to transfer; if it is provided outside, the worker may need support in finding an application for his skills on his return. Moreover, the workings of the market, if uninfluenced, will militate against the marginal member of the work force.

Finally, fluctuations both in demand for education and in the economic situation have not infrequently led to the anomaly of spare educational capacity coexisting with unemployment or underemployment. An active manpower policy is designed to prevent such an anomaly occurring, and a policy of recurrent education would broaden that intent to include non-vocational provision, without implying that the scope of educational facilities should be defined primarily by the needs of the economy. The present employment situation makes a broad view a matter of urgency, and reinforces the conclusion that the relation of current employment policies to non-vocational and vocational training opportunities should be reviewed with specific reference to the role of public policy in influencing the internal and external labour market and in radically strengthening the employment prospects of those at the margin of the labour force, in particular women, the 16-19 age group, and older and handicapped workers. This review should include an assessment of existing spare educational capacity and the degree to which it could and should be used as a counter-cyclical instrument to prevent unemployment. Such a task obviously goes far beyond the responsibility of the educational authorities, but would constitute an eminently appropriate issue for the Commissions described above to tackle.

Research

Action on the conclusions drawn in previous sections entails careful study of the issues they raise. Yet many of these issues are not

* See "The Relationship between the Manpower Policies of Governments and Enterprises", OECD document MS/ENT(74)7.

effectively covered by existing research and development; an omission which strongly suggests that the proposed shift in resources from youth to adult education should be paralleled by a shift in the support given to research in the respective fields. However, purely academic research plays a somewhat limited role, as the main decisions are determined by political rather than scientific factors, and it is important to find a way of integrating research work into the policy-making process. A final conclusion is therefore that the Commissions should be serviced by a group specifically set up to carry out the research and development work suggested by the recommendations made above. A particular function of this group would be to construct a framework within which it could monitor relevant developments in various areas, and a tentative framework is appended in the Annex to this report.

Table 1. AVERAGE ANNUAL COMPOUND GROWTH RATE OF ENROLMENT BY LEVEL 1960-70

	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	HIGHER	COMPULSORY	POST COMPULSORY
Australia	1.5	5.6*	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Austria	2.9	3.6	4.8	2.8	6.3
Belgium	0.8	4.1[a]	9.1[a]	n.a.	n.a.
Canada	1.3	6.0	11.3	1.9	10.0
Denmark	n.a.	n.a.	9.3	-0.9	n.a.
Finland	-3.4	3.6*	7.9*	-1.1	6.7*
France	-0.2	2.9	11.2	1.0	10.1
Germany	1.6[b]	3.8[b]	7.3	2.6	5.0[b]
Greece	-0.8	(5.0)[b]*	(12.0)[b]*	-0.1	(5.8)[b]*
Iceland	(2.7)	6.9	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Ireland	1.0	(6.2)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Italy	1.0	5.7	9.5	2.0	8.5
Japan	-2.8	-0.2	9.0	-2.6	4.2
Luxembourg	1.4	5.3	5.6	1.5	7.8
Netherlands	0.3	(2.5)	7.8	0.4	5.9
Norway	-1.1	n.a.	(9.1)	0.1	n.a.
Portugal	0.5	8.3*	8.1	1.6	7.5*
Spain	(3.2)	7.8	9.4	4.7	9.1
Sweden	-1.2	3.5	n.a.	1.8	n.a.
Switzerland	0.7[c]	3.4[c]	7.1[c]	1.2	4.9[c]
Turkey	5.7	10.7	9.5	5.7	10.6
United Kingdom	1.6	1.2	10.0	n.a.	n.a.
United States	0.9[d]	3.1[d]	8.3[e]*	1.3	6.6*
Yugoslavia	-0.8	3.2*	6.4	0.4	9.2[b]*

N.B. These figures refer to full-time enrolment except those which are asterisked which refer to full and part-time enrolment.

a) 1960-66.
b) 1960-69.
c) 1961-69.
d) 1959-70.
e) Degree credit students only.
( ) Estimates.

SOURCE: Educational Statistics Yearbook, Vol. I, International Tables, OECD 1974, page 32.

Table 2. PUBLIC EXPENDITURE* ON EDUCATION (CURRENT AND CAPITAL)
$ MILLION AT OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATES 1960-70

	1960	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Australia	463	817	905	988	1,120	1,299	1,598
Austria	179	335	398	470	514	586	
Belgium	614	894	1,022	1,111			
Canada	1,672	3,053	3,858	4,625	5,211	6,253	6,928
Denmark	237	583	560	645	786	906	1,085
Finland	234	481	527	582	510	638	641
France	3,467	4,058	4,727	(5,256)	5,614	6,306	(6,911)
Germany	1,680	3,410	3,674	3,819	4,137	4,838	6,475
Greece	59	125	139	157	169	192	219
Iceland	8	16	20	24	19	17	21
Ireland	55	113	115	132	140	167	192
Italy	1,310	2,954	3,008	3,651	3,576		
Japan	1,726	3,847	4,385	4,947	5,646	6,582	8,012
Luxembourg	17	29	32	35	39	42	45
Netherlands	529	1,200	1,365	1,568	1,757	2,026	2,362
Norway	213[a]	373	430	493	550	609	668
Portugal	46	50	56	60	63	82	123
Spain	126	(587)	482	(649)	539	n.a.	774
Sweden	n.a.	1,256	n.a.	n.a.	2,104	2,387	2,520
Switzerland	275	485	552	606	675	775	872
Turkey	132	306	361	392	433	n.a.	
United Kingdom[b]	2,857	4,953	5,486	5,550	5,602	6,015	6,893
United States	21,300	35,300	38,300	45,500	49,600	56,600	
Yugoslavia	244	402	338	396	446	545	669
Total Private Education Expenditure:							
Japan		1,121	1,282	1,419	1,557	1,703	1,884
United States		9,900	10,900	11,700	12,300	13,100	

* Provisional data.
a) 1963.
b) Includes exchequer charges.
( ) Estimates.

- General sources:
  Comparative Analysis of Educational Expenditure in Member Countries since 1950, OECD (to be published) for the following countries: Belgium (1960-67), Germany (1960-67), Ireland (1960-70), Netherlands (1960-67), Switzerland (1960-68), Turkey (1960-68). UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1970, 1971 and 1972 for Australia (1960-68), Canada (1960-70), France (1960-70), Yugoslavia (1960-70).
- specific sources:
  Austria: Statistical Yearbook 1971; Canada (1960-67): Survey of Education Finance Ottawa 1967; Finland, Ireland, Norway: Yearbook of Nordic Statistics, 1972; Germany (1960-70): Statistisches Jahrbuch 1971-72; United Kingdom: Education Statistics for the UK, 1972.
- for Denmark, Greece, Japan, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and United States data provided by the national authorities.

S.S.O.C.D.: Educational Statistics Yearbook, Vol. I, International Tables, OECD 1974, p. 29.

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Table 3. FULL-TIME ENROLMENT RATES FOR CHILDREN AGED 15-18

PERCENT OF POPULATION AT EACH AGE ENROLLED IN ACADEMIC YEAR BEGINNING AT DATE GIVEN

		15	16	17	18	15-18
Australia	1971	81.5	54.2	37.2	23.6	49.4
Austria	1969	54.8	32.6	23.6	16.4	31.9
Belgium	1966	75.1	61.3	47.0	33.2	54.2
Canada[a]	1970	98.0	89.1	77.2	45.8	78.1
Denmark	1970	85.2	66.8	31.8	23.2	51.7
Finland	1967	(59.2)	51.9	43.5	35.2	47.4
France	1970	80.5	62.6	45.1	29.1	54.3
Germany[b]	1969	54.9	30.8	20.4	15.7	30.5
Greece	1969	56.8	49.1	45.8	26.1	44.7
Iceland	1970	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Ireland	1967	82.4	64.3	46.5	31.8	56.3
Italy	1966	42.1	33.6	27.4	20.2	30.8
Japan	1970	(83.8)	(79.0)	(74.8)	(29.9)	(65.8)
Luxembourg	1970	67.9	56.5	42.3	31.2	49.5
Netherlands	1970	79.7	60.6	41.5	28.4	52.5
Norway[c]	1970	94.2	74.6	59.8	46.5	68.9
Portugal	1970	30.1	25.4	22.0	20.4	24.5
Spain	1970	35.0	29.6	22.8	19.0	26.7
Sweden[d]	1972	96.7	74.0	60.8	40.8	68.1
Switzerland	1970	95.9	66.7	54.8	32.8	62.6
Turkey	1968	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	(21.1)
United Kingdom	1970	73.0	41.5	26.2	17.6	39.4
United States[e]	1970	97.7	93.5	86.2	53.8	82.9
Yugoslavia	1968	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	36.6

NOTES: a) Excludes enrolment in trade schools and schools for the handicapped.
b) Excludes part-time compulsory vocational schools.
c) Includes a very minor number of part-time pupils.
d) Excludes enrolment in special schools.
e) Including part-time students in higher education.
( ) Estimates.

SOURCE: Educational Statistics Yearbook, Vol. I, International Tables, OECD 1974, p. 29.

Table 4. INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

		Level of education in equivalent years (in terms of cost of primary education) of:			
		30-34 YEAR OLDS	PEOPLE AGED 35 AND OVER	ABSOLUTE ADVANTAGE OF YOUNGER GENERATION	PROPORTIONATE ADVANTAGE OF YOUNGER GENERATION
Canada[a]	1961	28.1	17.0	11.1	65
Denmark[b]	1961/62	26.5	19.1	7.4	39
France	1968	28.6	13.9	14.7	106
Germany[a]	1970	22.7	15.3	7.4	48
Greece	1971	21.3	5.0	16.3	326
Ireland	1966	24.7	16.7	8.0	48
Italy[a]	1961	13.5	6.8	6.7	99
Japan[a]	1970	34.7	13.7	21.0	153
Netherlands[a], [c]	1960	19.8	13.7	6.1	45
New Zealand	1966				
Norway[b]	1960	22.4	13.7	8.7	64
Portugal[a]	1960	5.7	2.8	2.9	104
Spain[a], [c]	1970				
Sweden[d]	1967	30.6	15.6	15.0	96
Turkey	1965				
United Kingdom	1961	20.8	14.2	6.6	47
United States	1970	46.7	21.8	24.9	114

a) Age group 65+.
b) Age groups 30-39 and 70+.
c) Age group 25-34.
d) Age group 60-64.
e) Age group 25-29.

SOURCE: Inequalities in the Distribution of Education between Countries, Sexes, Generations and Individuals, by Angus Maddison and Marilyn Kotwal, OECD provisional document, SME/CA/74.91.

Table 5. RATIO OF FEMALE TO TOTAL ENROLMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION 1960-1970

(full and part-time)

	TOTAL			NON-UNIVERSITY			UNIVERSITY		
	1960	1965	1970	1960	1965	1970	1960	1965	1970
Austria	23.9	24.3	28.6	62.5[a]	35.7[a]	55.8[a]	23.1	23.9	24.8
Belgium	26.3	34.0	n.a.	37.1	44.9	n.a.	19.2	25.7	n.a.
Denmark	30.5	34.0	36.4	35.4	38.9	43.1	24.3	30.2	31.9
Finland	46.5	50.7	48.6	45.7	55.6	52.1	46.9	49.0	47.6
France	37.1	40.3	n.a.	24.5	35.1	n.a.	39.7	41.4	n.a.
Germany	17.1	18.0	24.1	6.3	5.5	5.9	20.8[b]	22.5[b]	29.6[b]
Greece	(25.3)	(31.8)	(30.4)[c]	(44.5)	(47.9)	(23.4)[c]	(23.0)	(30.5)	(31.4)[c]
Ireland	n.a.	29.5	n.a.	n.a.	34.0	n.a.	n.a.	28.1	n.a.
Italy	26.8	32.9	38.5	45.2	46.3	49.4	26.2	32.5	38.3
Japan	20.7	24.5	28.2	66.1	67.9	71.0	14.9	17.2	19.1
Luxembourg	9.1	20.0	(30.3)	-	20.0	25.0	12.5	20.0	(30.5)
Netherlands	24.9	25.2	27.5	29.0	30.4	34.0	17.9	18.0	19.6
Norway	n.a.	39.2	37.6	n.a.	55.2	49.4	n.a.	23.8	28.6
Portugal	29.5	37.5	44.7	24.0	30.0	33.4	31.0	40.2	47.9
Spain	n.a.	28.1	28.8	59.3	34.1	32.6	n.a.	21.1	26.4
Sweden	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	33.5	n.a.	37.2
Turkey	19.9	22.0	19.7	26.9	20.6	19.5	17.4	22.8	19.9
United Kingdom	n.a.	30.2[d]	34.0	n.a.	34.6[d]	42.0	n.a.	25.6[d]	27.3
Yugoslavia	28.8	33.4	39.5[c]	n.a.	34.4	40.2[c]	n.a.	29.5	37.0[c]

a) Excluding for girls "Lehrgang für medizinisch-technische Assistenten".
b) Excluding "höhere Fachschulen" and including a small portion of part-time pupils.
c) 1969.
d) 1966.
( ) Estimates.

SOURCE: Educational Statistics Yearbook, Vol. I, International Tables, OECD 1974, p. 24.

Table 6. ACTUAL TIME WORKED
MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY
WORKING WEEK

a) Hours actually worked b) Hours paid

COUNTRY	1960	1969	1970 (VI)
Federal Republic of Germany[b]	45.6	43.8	44.0[1]
Australia[b], [2]	...	44.1	...
Austria[3], [a], [4]	43.5	38.6	37.8[5]
Belgium[6], [a]	...	39.1	...
Canada[b]	40.4	40.0	40.1
Spain[7], [a]	43.5	44.1	44.5[8]
United States[b]	39.7	40.6	40.0
Finland[3], [a]	44.4	38.9	...
France[a]	45.7	45.4	44.8
Greece[b]	44.2[9]	43.8	...
Ireland[6], [a]	45.4	42.9[10]	40.1
Italy[a], [11]	8.07	7.83	...
Japan[7], [a]	47.8	43.9	44.8
Luxembourg[6], [a]	...	45.0	...
Norway[12], [a]	39.3	35.6	35.2[8]
Netherlands[6], [a]	48.8[13]	45.1	...
Portugal[14], [a]	42.3	...	...
United Kingdom[15], [a]	47.4	45.7	...
Sweden[16], [a], [17]	167[3]	...	...
Switzerland[b]	46.1	44.7	44.7

1) April.
2) Adult males only. October each year including clerical staff.
3) Including mining and quarrying.
4) 1960: hours paid.
5) Second quarter.
6) October each year.
7) Including clerical staff.
8) First quarter.
9) November.
10) September.
11) Per day.
12) Men. Including mining and quarrying.
13) Including young people.
14) 1968: 44.7.
15) October each year. Adult males only.
16) 1968: 155.
17) Per month.

SOURCE: Picture of the Actual Duration of Time Worked, by D. Maric. International Conference on New Patterns for Working Time, OECD 1972.

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Table 7. THE GROWTH IN WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION - 1950/1972

COUNTRY	WORKING WOMEN* AS % OF ALL WOMEN					
	YEAR	%	YEAR	%	YEAR	%
Australia	1954	26.3	1961	28.9	1971	37.1
Belgium	1950	24.0	1960	23.2	1971	26.1
Canada	1950	23.2	1960	27.9	1972	37.1
Denmark	-	-	1967	49.1	1972	53.5
Finland	-	-	1960	48.4	1970	48.1
France	1954	38.4	1962	36.2	1973	38.1
Japan	1955	56.7	1960	54.5	1970	49.9
Sweden	1950	33.6	1965	48.7	1972	54.9
United States	1950	33.9	1960	37.8	1972	43.8

* Includes unpaid family helpers working 15 hours per week or more.

SOURCES: National reports; International Labour Office, 1971 Year Book of Labour Statistics.

Annex

FRAMEWORK FOR MONITORING DEVELOPMENTS IN RECURRENT EDUCATION

The following is proposed as a tentative framework for the monitoring of developments towards recurrent education in individual countries. The first part will be based on available statistical data but will aim at supplementing them from the specific point of view of recurrent education; its function will be essentially descriptive providing the quantitative background. The second, more significant part, is intended to allow assessment of progress in a more qualitative sense, dealing with the directions taken by policy trends in the relevant areas.

I. INFORMATION ON EXISTING EDUCATIONAL PROVISION, CLASSIFIED BY RESPONSIBLE BODY

In each category, the following aspects should be dealt with:

Course:
- i) length of course,
- ii) qualifications demanded for admission,
- iii) certification offered,
- iv) availability of financial support for direct and indirect costs,
- v) the teaching staff.

Participants: Distribution by age, sex and social class.

There would be three principal categories:

a)	Formal education (under Ministry of Education)	day/block release; sandwich courses; work experience schemes, within school and post-school; modular course; provision for special categories, e.g. mature students.
b)	Training facilities (probably under Ministry of Labour, Manpower, Employment)	(on the job training); basic skill training; career training; redeployment training;

c) Other — This category would comprise all provision which is not readily classifiable under either of the first two headings, such as trade union education, provision for redundancy, etc. Obviously, responsibility for this category will be variously distributed.

II. POLICY TRENDS

This same three categories could be used, with the following elements being brought under consideration:

a) Budget: How are the successive annual budgets weighted, in terms of:
   i) youth and adult education;
   ii) direct support for initiatives towards recurrent education;
   iii) reorganisation of incentives for pursuing educational careers other than on a 'front-loading' basis?

b) New initiatives: What initiatives have been launched, in the shape of:
   i) institutions: the establishment of new ones, or the significant modification of existing ones;
   ii) educational innovation: course structures, approaches to admissions, curriculum development, appropriate teaching techniques;
   iii) employment and training: programmes aimed at developing labour market training as part of an active manpower policy, developments within the enterprise affecting demand for education; educational leave of absence ;
   iv) information: outreach activities, increased responsiveness to demands and needs, greater participation in educational decision-making?

c) Equality: To what extent are relevant developments contributing to a more equal distribution of:
   i) educational attainment;
   ii) employment opportunities and job satisfaction?

d) Mutual responsiveness:
   i) what developments are there in each of the three categories towards greater liaison with policies in the other two?
   ii) what institutions exist which could play a coordinating role, and to what extent do they fulfil this potential?
   iii) to what degree do the various policy objectives adopted by those working in different areas conflict, explicitly or implicitly?

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